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ABSTRACT

British Infant School programs to aid language development for disadvantaged children 3 to 8 years old are discussed, with reference to ideas and practices in the United States. In general, English Infant School teachers believe that language development must be nourished by the teacher in the context of the child's interaction with his environment. Centrally important is a heightened teacher awareness of means of extension of the child's ideas and language. Other topics discussed are: (1) the value of peer group talk, (2) daily schedules relative to the child's sex, (3) extrinsic reinforcement, contrasted with intrinsic reinforcement, (4) whether or not standard English should be taught, (5) the use of local cultural content, (6) bilingualism in school and out, (7) communication skills, (8) children's written sentences, (9) verbal functioning effectiveness, and (10) compensatory education: the recommendations of the Plowden Report, and the goals of the 3 1/2-year Schools Council project in England and Wales. (NH)

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Language Programs for Young Children: Notes from England and Wales[1]

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Language Programs for Young Children: Notes from England and Wales

Courtney B. Cazden

In the spring of 1969 I spent four weeks in England and Wales. I was especially interested in children 3-8 years old; in children we call disadvantaged for reasons of poverty or discrimination; in what English nursery or infant schools which express the philosophy of the Plowden Report[2] are doing to aid language development; and in what people in schools or universities think they ought to be doing. What follows is a set of eleven separate notes on observations and conversations, and my reactions as an American to what I saw and heard and read. The purpose is not a comprehensive account of even one aspect of education in England and Wales. That would be arrogant to attempt and impossible to accomplish after only four weeks, even when supplemented by previous visits (Cazden, 1968; Cazden & Williams, 1969). Instead, I've tried to use the English experience to highlight ideas and practices here.[3] Because I am writing these notes after working on a summer project to train kindergarten teachers for American Indian schools, jointly sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the National Association for the Education of Young Children, some of the U.S. examples are taken from this context. The eleven notes are titled:

Extending children's language
Peer-group talk
Individual daily schedules
Reinforcement for what?
Standard English: to teach or not to teach
Use of local cultural content
Bilingualism in school and out
Communication skills
The language of children's written sentences
The Gahagan-Bernstein educational program
Compensatory education

Extending Children's Language

Margaret Roberts, head of the diploma course in child development at the University of London Institute of Education, describes good teaching as "sensitive observation" which will lead to a high quality of "mental companionship" between teacher and child which in turn will "extend" the child's ideas and language. These are her words: sensitive observation, mental companionship and extension. They express the general belief of English infant school educators (and many of their American colleagues) that language development should be nourished by the teacher in the context of the child's work and play.

Such informal nourishment is contrasted with more formal lessons in which something preselected by the teacher is taught to a child or group of children. I heard several objections to such lessons. Miss E. M. Parry, inspector of nursery and infant schools in Bristol, objected to the content. She contrasted English infant school practices with one American preschool classroom she had visited as a member of the Plowden commission. The concept heavy was being taught, one of five concepts for that day. The teacher evidently taught by rote, through words alone, and didn't use blocks or other material available in the classroom to give the children concrete, personal experience with heaviness. Few would disagree with Miss Parry that such superficial verbal instruction is bad teaching. But one can argue that structured language programs can do much better.

Other educators object because structured programs are preplanned by the teacher in content (and therefore do not flow from children's interests) or in timing (and therefore interrupt or conflict with the child's concerns at the moment). Here one can argue that children's interests can

be aroused as well as followed, and that any child can tolerate some interruptions to his work as long as the school day also contains blocks of time which he can plan.

The key word in England is "extension." What does this word imply? Does it really happen? What kind of knowledge or awareness does a teacher need to do it successfully?

At the least, the concept of "extension" implies a direction. In what direction do we want to extend children's language? This is another way of asking a critical question: in any particular situation, what kind of language, what ways of communicating, are of greatest worth? Unless teachers have given serious thought to this question, it seems unlikely that they will be aware of the most important directions for help. As Mr. Norfield, head (principal) of the John Milton Primary School in the Batterseapark area of London put it, if the teacher is not aware of particular aspects of experience, she can't pay attention to them; if she's not aware of the intellectual skills and concepts inherent in the simplest activity, she can not nourish those skills and concepts in the context of the child's play.

According to Benita Jackson, nursery and infant school inspector in the London dock area of Newham and member of the Nuffield Foundation mathematics team, it is generally accepted that infant school teachers need knowledge about mathematics. Consider the treatment of symmetry in Beginnings, one of the Nuffield booklets for teachers:

> Although no observations may come from the children at this stage, it is useful for the teacher to have a knowledge of symmetry when patterns are being made in the sand and a variety of differently shaped containers are being used. . . . The most important aspect of this work is to encourage in children an awareness of the shapes and patterns around them.

> This is simply a matter of focusing attention for a few moments, and introducing the necessary vocabulary so that the children can describe what they see.
> (Nuffield Foundation, 1967, pp. 4, 89).

Things can be symmetrical in different ways, and Beginnings gives examples of patterns that are the same back to front or upside down (reflection), moving along (translation) and round and round (rotation).

Without understanding these concepts herself, the teacher cannot ask the best question, offer the most pertinent equipment, focus the child's attention on the relevant examples. In short, she can only start from where the child is and then help him learn something new if she knows about exciting places to go. Cremin said as much in his analysis of the progressive movement in the U. S.:

> For the resourceful teacher, all activities and occupations had an instrumental as well as an intrinsic value; they afforded opportunity for social and intellectual growth as well as more immediate satisfaction to the children.
>
> But there is a point to be made here, one that Dewey argued for the rest of his career but never fully communicated to some who thought themselves his disciples. A teacher cannot know which opportunities to use, which impulses to encourage, or which social attitudes to cultivate without a clear sense of what is to come later. With respect to intellect this implies a thorough acquaintance with organized knowledge as represented in the disciplines. To recognize opportunities for early mathematical learning, one must know mathematics. . . In short, the demand on the teacher is twofold: thorough knowledge of the disciplines and an awareness of those common experiences of childhood that can be utilized to lead children toward the understanding represented by this knowledge (Cremin, 1961, p. 138).

It is easy for us as teachers to admit that we need to know more about mathematics. But because we all talk, we assume that we're all experts on language. The trouble is that the knowledge about language we require as teachers is one level beyond using it ourselves, no matter how richly we may do so. We need to know about language; we need to be aware of its structure

and functions, self-consciously and analytically. We need to understand the value of differentiated vocabulary in perception and memory (e.g., of different kinds of symmetrical patterns); we need to know what Mrs. Tough is finding out about the ways different children use language to convey information (see later note on communication skills); we need to be aware of how we as teachers use language (Barnes et al, 1969); we need to wrestle ourselves with "notions of theory construction and rational discussion" (O'Neil, 1969, p. 363).[4] And then we have to plan how to use that knowledge in the classroom.

But even if whe had such knowledge, it is not certain that a busy infant school teacher can do much extending of children's oral language when there are so many other demands on her time. I talked about this to Miss S. Ena Grey, Welsh member of the Plowden commission and organizer of infant education for the country of Glamorgan. We were at an exhibit of play corners made for nursery and infant schools as part of the two-year course for "nursery nurses" (nursery school assistants) at the Bridgend Technical College in Wales. The corners were constructed and equipped very realistically: post office, cafe, gas station, hospital, hair dresser, sweet shop, fish and chip shop (all very British), and a ranch and Indian tepee (imported from the U.S. via TV).

Miss Grey felt that these play corners stimulated play, and thereby language, if the teachers took an active part in promoting play through provision of materials and through her participation as well. "The teacher shouldn't just say to herself, 'Well, there are five children happily occupied and I can ignore them.' " On the other hand, she may sometimes have to

ignore them while she takes advantage of the opportunity to work with other children in reading or number work. Thus, there are conflicting pulls on the teacher's time: to participate and thereby extend the child's experience in these play corners, or use the time elsewhere.

Given the pressures infant school teachers feel to get around to each child in a group of forty with help in reading, other activities may understandably not get the attentiontion they deserve. One teacher of a 5- and 6-year-old group in the Sea Mills Infant School in Bristol spent ten minutes of her morning as follows:

> Writes a story for a girl. Writes a story for another girl, talking it over before writing anything down. Time out to point out word in a dictionary for a girl. Writes story for another girl. Moniters other children in classroom, calling softly to a girl standing near the milk table, "Judy, if you're not having milk, come away from that table." Helps dictionary girl with another word. Gets up to help boy decide what to do. Redirects three children out of the coat room. Gives word to dictionary girl. Gets box out of desk and says, "Listen, please. If anyone would like to buy a jam tart, come and get one." Checks one girl's original story. Checks another girl's story and tells her to write her name. Checks whose milk is left on the table: "Who had a bottle of milk and didn't finish it?" Goes back to write two more stories. Asks Simon to get his very first book and his most recent book and show them to the visitor.

It is not possible to say whether this is representative behavior. Furthermore, the conversations which the above record simply lists as happening could be very valuable. Wireless recording equipment would be needed in order to record the content of those conversations for subsequent analysis. But as Denis & Judy Gahagan, who developed Basil Bernstein's educational program point out, even that is not enough:

> We actually tried this at the S.R.U. [Sociological Research Unit] and our finding was that it does give you a measure of 'how much' talk, <u>but</u> unless it is accompanied minimally by written observations, it is frequently impossible to identify the person to whom the talk

> is being directed, and worse still, it is often impossible to understand the speech in the sense of knowing what is being talked about, because of the use of referents such as 'this', 'these', 'its', 'them', and of many personal pronouns. The ideal solution is of course, to use video-tape. (personal communication, 1969).

Careful observation is also necessary to make sure that teachers do, in fact, talk to the children who need help most and are not monopolized by children who are already the most verbal. The Gahagans met this problem too; see section on the Gahagan-Bernstein program for their solution.

Two research projects now underway in England should help us understand better what kinds of communication take place in English primary schools. When Miss Parry retired from Bristol on August 31, 1969, she began an 18-month project, sponsored by the Schools Council and based at the Rachel McMillan College in London, to "document" the best practices in nursery and infant schools. And Brian Simon of the University of Leicester is analyzing verbal interaction in classrooms where children work alone and in small groups (Times Educational Supplement, 5/2/69).

Peer Group Talk

Children do learn from each other. That's one of the implications of the Coleman Report on educational opportunity in the U.S. (Coleman, 1966; Jencks, 1969). Coleman found that the one characteristic of a disadvantaged child's school which had a demonstrable effect on his achievement was the composition of the peer group. When achievement is measured by tests of verbal ability (which were more sensitive to school differences than other achievement tests), a disadvantaged child benefits from going to school with middle-class children. One source of that benefit may be the quality of peer group talk (though other sources are possible, such as the quality of the lessons planned by the teacher). Although U. S. attempts to support that hypothesis in preschools integrated by social class have so far brought inconclusive or disappointing results (e.g. Karnes 1969), the idea continues to appeal.

It seems intuitively obvious that the amount of peer-group conversation that takes place in English infant schools is superior for language development to the enforced silence of many primary school classrooms in the U. S. At least there's no negative, repressive effect. In keeping with the Coleman finding, it also seems that vertical (mixed-age or "family") grouping would make that conversation even more beneficial. (English teachers and heads are very articulate about their rational for grouping. They may not agree with each other; but each head knows exactly why she groups as she does. In many schools new five-year-olds are not segregated in a reception class but instead are mixed with sixes or with sixes and sevens, so that they can be inducted into the school culture by their slightly older peers.)

Because of all the foregoing, I was especially interested in the quality of peer group talk. Basil Bernstein said he had been told, "You should hear them talk in the Wendy House" (the English play house or doll corner). Bernstein eavesdropped on conversations in Wendy Houses as part of his study of the language of five-to-seven year old children (Bernstein & Henderson, in press; Bernstein & Young, 1967; Hawkins, 1968; Robinson & Rackstraw, 1967). He heard children talking all right, but he concluded that language in that setting consists mainly of highly routinized, well-rehearsed bits of previously learned responses, or response types, which probably do little to extend language development (Bernstein, personal communication, 1969).

I eavesdropped too, on the conversation in a Wendy House in a nursery school for children 3-5 years old. Four girls were talking as they played. Girl 1 was in the doll bed, pretending to be crying like a baby. Girl 2 and Girl 3 were with her and Girl 4 entered later. Following is a ten-minute record, taken down in written notes (not by tape recorder). A line (____) indicates words I couldn't hear.

Girl 2. Baby! (slapping Girl 1) Baby, don't cry. I'll get ____.

Girl 3. (Goes over, sits down and feeds Girl 1) ____ right? Go to sleep!

Girl 3. Who are You? You're not coming into our house (said to Girl 4 who appeared at the door).

Girl 2. She's coming in!

Girl 3. Get up. Let Mommy ____. OK? Get up. Let Mommy put ____. Get into bed. I'll cover you up. Lay down. Come on, Ann. Look after your baby. (Girls 2 and 3 take a doll carriage and go out. Girls 1 and 4 stay; Girl 1 still in bed.)

Girl 1. Cries.

Girl 3. (calling from outside) Cheryl, Cheryl, come! (Girl 4 plays alone looks out the window, ignores Girl 1. Then fixes

Girl 1's covers without speaking, starts to sweep the floor. Girl 1 sits up in bed. Girl 3 returns.)

Girl 4. Baby woke up!

Girl 3. _____ (and exits again).

Girl 4. (to Girl 1) Go sleep. Go sleep. Go sleep. (repeated ten times in all)
(Girl 1 makes noises, and then gets up.)

This record may be unrepresentative. A child's language undoubtedly can be extended by the communicative demands of conversations with peers, whether or not an adult is present. I'm sure such evidence could be found. But the above record provides little assurance that, left alone in even the richest school environment, children will gain in communicative competence more than they would if playing with their peers in an informal group on the playground or street.

Individual Daily Schedules

In the Bristol classroom described above, all the children who dictated stories to the teacher were girls. That record was taken from 9:28 to 9:38 in the morning. It was 9:55 before the first boy came in from building with blocks out on the patio and sat down to draw or dictate or read. I asked Miss Nash, head of the school about this. She had taken counts of activities by sex and time of day, and agreed that boys seek more vigorous activity early in the morning and only settle down later to the three R's. There is a definite expectation, at Sea Mills and elsewhere, that each child will do some reading, writing, and arithmetic each day. (This expectation is transmitted more from older to younger children than by explicit direction of the teacher.) But it still leaves each child responsible for selecting the form of his work, and the time during the day when he will do it. An integrated day can accomodate all kinds of individual schedules, including these striking differences between girls and boys.

Reinforcement for What?

In the Westfield Infant School in Leicestershire, Rosemary Williams, the head, and I watched a five-year old boy spend a long time on a collage picture and then take it over to his teacher for her to display. Miss Williams commented on the importance of teachers finding ways to value children's work. "If this isn't done, then children stop working." Valuing at the moment, as this teacher did. Valuing in a group evaluation session at the end of the morning, as many of the teachers in Miss William's school do. Valuing in an even larger group such as the daily Assembly - as is done at the Tide Mills Infant School in the Deptford area of London.

Tangible products like paintings, and constructions, and written stories can gain recognition this way. But the scientific discovery while working with a balance can't; nor the good question about something seen on the way to school; nor the thoughtful comment about the implications of a story. These have to be valued at the moment, or the opportunity is lost. We may believe that intellectual activity should eventually be its own reward, but some children probably need extrinsic reinforcement as well.

In the U. S., the Bereiter-Engelmann Program has been noted for its use of extrinsic reinforcement. The teacher rewards with a warm smile, a handshake and verbal praise - "Good talking!" (As in the film of Jean Osborne teaching, distributed by the Anti-Defamation League). I know some observers find this practise offensive. I don't. If it's acceptable to say "Good worker" to a child who sticks with a job after an initial period of flitting or giving up, why can't we say "Good talker" to a child who has been silent in

school and is now participating in the ways we expect? After all, reinforcement simply means transmitting our valuing openly to the child.

But what are the ways of talking we expect? My questions about the Beriter-Engelmann Program are more about what they reinforce than how. Too often "Good talking" consists of the right answer to a teacher's question spoken in only one acceptable way. The question What is this? has only one answer, and that answer must be given in a set form, This is a Z --- not That is . . . or It is . . . or anything else. Such talking may be required if one adopts group choral response as a teaching strategy. But it hardly taps the truly human powers of any child's language ability.

Can we find the time and the ways, personally and individually, to value the child's thoughtful and unique verbal responses to his world?

Standard English: to teach or not to teach

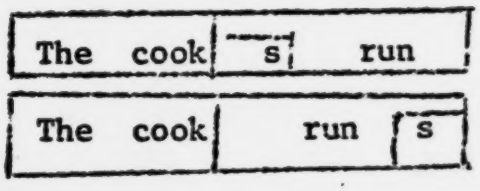
The Schools Council project to develop a language program for children of West Indian origin is directed by Jim Wight. The project coordinators are John Sinclair from the English Department and Philip Taylor from the School of Education of the University of Birmingham. The program is planned for children from 7-9 years old because it is based in part on children's writing. It has two objectives:

> to help children to write Standard English - concentrating on the places where the West Indian dialect creates special difficulties for the child;
>
> and to improve the oral fluency and general communication skills and confidence of the children - focusing also on intellectual tasks that are fundamental to successful communication at school. (Wight & Norris, 1969, p. 2-3).

The first objective will be discussed here and the second in a later note.

In addition to the usual distinction between home language (in this case a Caribbean Creole) and school language (Standard English), Wight and Sinclair separate their goals for oral and written language and concentrate their efforts in trying to help children write Standard forms. According to Wight, no matter how you try to disguise it, if you suggest an alternative way of speaking, you are implicitly suggesting that something is wrong with what the child said in the first place. Moreover, written work is where children receive the most criticism for irregular forms. Listeners tend to ignore grammatical deviations' but the same deviations become glaringly obvious in written compositions. Oral drills are used for oral practise in forms needed in writing. "It is intended that these standard forms should be primarily associated in the child's mind with written English" (Wight & Norris, 1969, p. 27).

The project is developing some unusual puzzle-like materials for teaching standard English morphology such as the following for noun and verb agreement:



If one adds an s to the noun, then the only verb piece that fits is one that cannot itself take an s; if the noun is singular, then the matching verb piece has a space which must be filled by an s.

At first, it seemed to me inappropriate to use a mnemonic device to teach a linguistic rule. But as Wight pointed out, this rule is a completely arbitrary, meaningless part of our language. If the visual shapes of words can aid learning, why not exploit them? One good thing about the materials is that the original decision is made about the noun: is it plural or singular? Once that decision has been made, the shape of the noun determines the shape, literally, of the verb.

In its approach to Standard English, the Birmingham project takes an intermediate position between the extremes of American programs for "teaching English as a second language" on the one hand, and "leave their dialect alone" on the other. Bernstein speaks strongly for the latter, at least for the oral language of pre-adolescents:

> There is nothing, but nothing, in the dialect as such, which prevents a child from internalizing and learning to use universalistic meanings. But if the contexts of learning, the examples, the reading books are not contexts which are triggers for the child's imaginings, are not triggers on the child's curiosity and explorations in his family and community, then the child is not at home in the educational world. If the teacher has to say continuously, "Say it again, darling, I didn't understand you," then in the end the child

> may say nothing. If the culture of the teacher is to be come part of the consciousness of the child, then the culture of the child must first be in the consciousness of the teacher. This may mean that the teacher must be able to understand the child's dialect, rather than deliberately attempting to change it (Bernstein, 1969, pp. 15-16).

Three additional arguments in favor of practising SE in written form, as Wight et al suggest, were expressed during discussions at a fall, 1969 conference at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington D. C. First, Orlando Taylor argued for widening the range of pronunciations acceptable as SE to include Black English pronunciations as we now include all regional variations, thereby limiting SE to matters of grammatical structure. In print, pronunciation automatically becomes irrelevant. Second, according to Claudia Mitchell Kernan, Black students more easily accept the need for writing SE while considering attempts at "proper" speech as affected (Mitchell, 1969). Finally, as we note in more detail below, one of the skills which working class children most need to practise is communicating ideas explicitly without dependence on gestures or concrete referents. That is the task which written language imposes.

Use of Local Cultural Content

Infant schools in the dock area of London, on an RAF base in Oxfordshire, and in the industrial midlands of Leicestershire look very much the same. When inside, one loses awareness of the local culture from which the children come. Until very recently, this was also true in the U. S. Now beginning adaptations are being made.

For instance, in some kindergartens for American Indian children there will be richer dramatic play, and richer language accompanying it, because the block corner is liberally supplied with cows, sheep and horses (replacing the zebras and elephants), and with pick-up trucks (like every Navajo family owns) that are large enough to carry the animals to the trading post or rodeo. Similarly, classroom interaction will gain from a life-size driftwood horse, complete with blanket, saddle and reins, instead of the culturally neutral equipment of most dramatic play corners. And why not a rodeo lotto game, as Vera John suggests, with different sizes and sexes of animals and different sizes and positions of players? Such a game would require that children express in words those visual discriminations which they have previously learned well in their out-of-school life.

English voices are heard on this subject. Leila Berg is one of them. In Risinghill (1968) she writes of the birth and death of a comprehensive secondary school in the Islington section of London with children from nineteen nationalities. This school cherished their differences and created a multi-cultural program from them. More recently, at the annual conference of the Pre-schools Playgroups Association, Mrs. Berg attacked the middle class world portrayed in children's readers and the way society is "depersonaliz-

ing children from working class homes" (Times, 4/21/69; Times Educational Supplement 4/25/69). She is herself the author of an alternative set of readers: Nippers, published by Macmillan in England. One paperback primer is called Fish and Chips for Supper (Berg, 1968). Basil Bernstein is another voice, criticizing the Plowden Report for overemphasing universal stages and individual differences while minimizing the implications of subcultural differences (Bernstein & Davies, 1969), and arguing for relevant "contexts of learning" (see quote in preceding section from Bernstein, in press). Note that I am talking here about the positive possibilities for curriculum change which these subcultural differences provide, not the negative implications for adjustment to schools as they are which we in America have emphasized in the recent past.

It may be that English society is more homogeneous than ours, and that, therefore, the goal of cultural pluralism has less meaning. Continued immigration from the Commonwealth countries would make England become more like the U. S. in this respect. But the restrictive legislation recently passed by Parliament makes that a much less immediate prospect. In the U. S. demands from minority groups for help in enlarging their cultural identity rather than wiping it out is forcing change in the schools, meagre as it is. If, for other reasons, we transplant English practices to our schools for young children, let's not lose what little headway we've gained.

Bilingualism in School and Out

Language is one important expression of cultural identity, and part of the shift away from a "melting pot" toward cultural pluralism in the U. S. is the introduction of bilingual education.[5] In Wales, bilingual education is well established and widespread. About 25% of children in Wales learn Welsh as their native language. At school entrance, parents in most areas can select Welsh-speaking schools in which English is introduced as a second language at age 8, or English-speaking schools where Welsh is introduced in the same way. According to Aneurin Williams, research officer of the Welsh Language Unit section of the Schools Council Project in Compensatory Education (described more fully in the last note), some English-speaking parents chose the Welsh-speaking schools because they believe in promoting the Welsh language.

Promotion of the Welsh language is not a matter for schools alone. E.M. Thomas writes in the Times Educational Supplement (5/9/69) about the Welsh Language Society's campaign against road signs printed only in English. Evidently some teachers have been active in this campaign. After a strong statement on behalf of acts which do not violate public opinion even if they violate the law, Thomas urges the local education committees not to take action against these teachers.

> I should have thought it is ridiculous that children whose mother tongue is Welsh should grow up hearing one set of placenames on the tongues of their families but always seeing another, English form on road signs and in official use.
>
> The same goes for all the words used in public notices and so forth. What sense does it make for an education committee to teach Welsh in its schools (unless it thinks of it as a dead language) and at

the same time show no concern for the public status and use of the language.

One way children's learning in school can be reinforced is by opportunities to use that learning outside of school. If educators truly believe in bilingualism, shouldn't they be campaigning for all possible opportunities to use the second (or first) language? Why not English-Spanish road signs in Texas, and English-Navajo road signs on the reservation in Arizona?

Communication Skills

K. Lovell of the University of Leeds Institute of Education asked about communication problems of disadvantaged children: Are they the result of particular communication patterns in the home or are they one particular form of a general difference in symbolic functioning? The research of his colleague, Mrs. Jean Tough, strongly suggests the former interpretation.

Mrs. Tough is doing a longitudinal study of the language development of children, half from "favoured" backgrounds. These categories are based on the father's occupation and an interview to assess the quality of linguistic fostering provided by the home. Each group of 24 is further divided with half attending nursery school and half at home. All four subgroups were equated on mean Stanford-Binet IQ (means = 129, 128.3, 127.5 and 125.3).

At the time I spoke with Mrs. Tough, language samples had been taken and analysed only at the age of 3 years. Each child's speech was tape recorded in a one-hour play session with another child of the subject's choice. In her analysis of the transcriptions of these play sessions, Mrs. Tough is looking for differences predicted by Basil Bernstein's work, but in younger children than he has studied.

Briefly, these are some of the differences in language use of the "favoured" versus the "less favoured" children which Mrs. Tough has found (1969).

> While the total number of utterances was about the same (even slightly larger for the less favoured group), the relative frequency with which the children talked about particular aspects of their environment was very different. The less favoured children gave nearly three times as many instructions to their peer; the favoured children talked about qualitative attributes, relationships such as causation, and things recalled from the past or anticipated in the future, from two to seven times as often.

All of the children's "items of representation" (of which the above list is a part) were rated as to whether they required the presence of the concrete situation for effective communication. This "concrete component" constitutes 20.9% of the representations of the favoured children and 34.5% of the representations of the less favoured children. The most frequent forms of the "concrete component" are pronouns whose only reference is to something pointed at in the environment. Such "exophoric" reference is contrasted with "anaphoric" reference, where pronouns refer to an antecedent previously supplied in words. The percentage of anaphoric references (which would communicate without the concrete context) was 22.8% for the favoured children and only 7.7% for the less favoured children. This finding replicates Bernstein's research with children 5-7 years (Hawkins, 1969).

Remember that these differences are found among children who are in the same range of scores on the Stanford-Binet. This means that children of equivalent intellectual ability are not equally disposed to use language in particular ways. Being able to communicate information without the support of a concrete context is one such use - required in describing the past, planning for the future, and talking over the telephone, especially to strangers. It is the use of language tapped in the Language Function Test developed by the Wight-Sinclair group at Birmingham, and it is one of the communication skills they hope to improve in their curriculum for West Indian children. It is also a main focus of the Gahagan-Bernstein program.

One of the consultants for the Birmingham project who has been trying out new ideas in communication education is an Inspector for junior schools in London, John Welch. Mr. Welch went with a stop watch to some schoold in his area to see how much chance children had to talk. He found, as observers have found in the U. S., that in a class discussion at the upper primary level (intermediate grades in the U. S.), the teacher talked about 70% of the time, and 6 or 7 children monopolized the rest. Under such circumstances, most of the children have minimal opportunities for expressing ideas in words.

So he started trying out new ideas for classroom organization and activities for oral language development.

One of the teachers Welch has worked with is Miss Ternouth who has nine-year olds at the Tide Mill Junior School in Deptford, a disadvantaged area in Southeast London. I visited Miss Ternouth's class when her children were working on communication tasks. There were 32 children, divided into pairs or small groups, all working on some kind of talking activity. For example:

> Two girls were making puppets for a theatre and then going to plan a play.
>
> Two boys sat on either side of a screen, each with plasticene, buttons and string. One boy was making a face with the materials and giving directions to his partner as he worked so that the two faces would be identical in the end. After they had compared faces, they were to make up a story about them.
>
> Two girls were planning and then painting a mural about a fire.
>
> Four boys were using Leggo (construction blocks) to build a village and then would make up a story about the people who live there.
>
> Two girls stood on either side of an easel. One girl was painting a pattern and giving directions to her partner. Then they would evaluate how similar they had been able to make the two patterns.

Because the situation where two children are separated by an opaque screen and forced to communicate information by words alone has been used in communication experiments in the U. S., it was especially interesting to see the same idea used in an educational program in England. The idea of using screens in enrichment projects originated in the language program directed by Gahagan & Gahagan (in press), with whom Welch consulted in the spring of 1966.

The same principle could be applied with preschool children as well. Vera John (personal communication) suggests that after two children have become very familiar with a particular puzzle, they can work together. One

child has the frame and the other child has the pieces. By words alone, the child with the frame must ask for the pieces, one by one. Give me the piece that fits under his neck. Give me the big, white one, etc. As with the rodeo lotto game, the task for the child is to translate into language visual discriminations he has already learned to make. But whereas visual information about the rodeo is acquired out of school, visual information about the puzzle is learned in school, but prior to any need for communicating that information in words.

The Language of Children's Written Sentences

In all the infant schools I visited except one, a child's first reading material consisted of sentences which he made up to accompany his drawings. At first he dictated them to the teacher; gradually he began to copy her writing, either beneath his or on top of it; finally he did the writing himself, with extensive use (in virtually all classrooms) of small picture dictionaries. One school was the exception. In the Lionel Road Primary School in the Brentford borough of outer London, the children read their own sentences, but no handwritting was required. David Mackay and Brian Thompson of the Department of General Linguistics, University College, London, have developed initial literacy materials which separate the conceptual process of sentence composition from the mechanical skill of handwriting. Each child has a word folder with a pre-selected store of common words plus some blanks for his personal collection. He also has a stand on which words from a folder can be set up as a text. A pilot version of these materials and manual (Thompson, Shaub & Mackay, 1968) is being tried out in schools all over England. They will be published by Longmans Green in England. Unfortunately, at the time of my visit there were no plans for publication in the U. S.

There are many interesting aspects to these materials and to what children do with them. Here I will only comment on three: the kinds of sentences which I saw children dictate or compose; a developmental progression which Mackay and Thompson have discovered in the relation between what children intend to say and what they actually set out on their stands; and what children learn about the structure of their language.

First, the kind of sentences. At the Brize Norton School on an RAF base in Oxfordshire, I visited a classroom of five-year-olds from families of mixed socio-economic status comparable to the families in the Lionel Road School. The teacher had given each child a new booklet of unlined paper for his drawings and stories, and asked each child to draw a picture and then dictate a story for her to write.

While the children were drawing, I left to watch a BBC educational TV program with another class, and returned just as the children were leaving for lunch. All the booklets were stacked on the table, and I received permission to examine them in the empty room. Thirty-four books in all: three were empty, one had only pictures, 30 had pictures and a sentence. Of these 30, 24 fit one sentence pattern: This is a Z, and another 4 consisted of that pattern with some embellishment:

This is a moon and a bird.
This is a house and here is the sun.
This is a tree with four apples.
This is a duck on the river.

The 29th started with these:

These are some Indians.

The 30th was different in both form and content.

This little boy is dead.

My first reaction was to wonder why the Bereiter-Engelmann program needs to spend time practising This is a Z. Later, I was struck by the greater structural variety of the sentences composed on their stands by the children using the Mackay-Thompson materials.

Before the mid-morning break at the Lionel Road School (coffee for the teachers and recess for the children though it's not called that in England),

nine children sat down to work with the teacher at a large table. The teacher, Miss Wooldridge, had a large box of extra word cards which the children asked for; she listened as they read their completed sentences and, since I was present, asked each child if he would also read his sentences to the visitor; she wrote the sentences in their individual booklets and simultaneously monitored the activities of the rest of the group. Below are the first nine sentences. A slash line indicates that at the moment I saw the sentence in the stand, this was as far as it went; in other words, the slash line indicates some, though not necessarily all, of the stages in the composition of that sentence. A carrot indicates that words were inserted into a previously composed string. The omission of periods and some capital letters is intended (Thompson, Schaub & Mackay, 1968).

My mum take[s] me to school

is my sister at school and / is my baby at home?

Miss Wooldridge is a school because she looks like one (sic)

I go to the picture[s] every Saturday morning

I've / got a book all about Chitty Bang Bang at school

I like David

My cousin is skinny

I brought Pip to school

I like Sian

Of the second set of nine sentences composed after the break, eight started with I + verb and the ninth was:

on Tuesday / the movie camera man is coming (this originally started with the movie camera man and then the entire sentence was shoved to the right to make room for on Tuesday.)

The simplest explanation of the differences between the Brize Norton and Lionel Road sentences is that when a picture is drawn first and a sentence then composed about the picture, the child is constrained toward the use of the This is a Z pattern. Without the picture there is no such constraint; any idea can be expressed, and more varied sentence patterns are needed. To the extent that this constraint does operate, it is imposed by the situation, not by this or any other teacher. What I observed may of course be unrepresentative, and it is undoubtedly true that the picture constraint doesn't operate for long. Many American observers have remarked on the high quality of children's writing (e.g., Featherstone, 1968), and most English children start writing in this way. But certainly the Mackay & Thompson materials cannot be considered more restrictive, as some critics have claimed.

As Mackay and Thompson watched children over many months, they discovered a developmental progression in the children's awareness of the structure of a spoken sentence. Following is a summary of their findings (Mackay and Thompson, 1968, pp. 112-115):

> Stage 1: The child simply lists words with no apparent link - Dad boy girl - and reads them as isolated words.
>
> Stage 2: The child composes on his stand a telegraphic sentence - Children school - but reads it as a complete sentence - The children go to school.
>
> Stage 3: The child realizes that words are missing from the Stage 2 sentences and either adds them at the end - Mum home my is at - or selects the missing words after the telegraphic nouns and verbs and inserts them into their proper places.

Stage 2 seems to suggest that when children are 5-6 years old they may recapitulate, at the metalinguistic level of conscious awareness, the development from telegraphic to complete sentence which they went through at 2-3 years at the linguistic level of nonconscious oral speech. When materials such as

these are used, the developmental progression is laid bare for the teacher to see. But as Mackay & Thompson point out, progress in this conceptual ability will not be revealed if the child only copies from a model which the teacher has written from the child's dictation, and it will be confounded with problems in handwriting and/or spelling unless he has whole words in some form to work with.

While watching children use the Mackay-Thompson materials, one realizes how much they must be learning about language. For example, in my short visit I noticed the following:

> morphology: adding a separate card for s to verbs like take and nouns like picture; composing coming by adding a card with ing to come so that the e is covered;
>
> syntax: inserting on Tuesday as a chunk at the beginning of a sentence;
>
> orthography: using a combination of small words and separate letters to compose longer words such as hh it s as one boy in the 6-year-old group did.

Professor Lovell at Leeds found in his research that mentally retarded children have an especially hard time understanding the derivation of compound nouns like blackboard on the Berko (1958) morphology test. The Mackay & Thompson materials have been strikingly successful with a small group of severely retarded children. Perhaps one reason is that they encourage the children to monitor their own language behavior, objectify it in words and/or letters on the stands, and then operate on it in various ways. This too is part of the metalinguistic level of our language ability (which Lovell considers part of Piaget's stage of concrete operations). Achievement of this level is not necessary for learning to talk; but it is probably necessary, or at least extremely helpful, in learning to read and write.

The Gahagan-Bernstein Educational Program

Many people, in England as here, seem unaware that Basil Bernstein and his colleagues in the Sociological Research Unit of the University of London Institute of Education have designed and carried out a three-year educational program in infant and junior schools. A monograph on this work, especially for use by teachers, has been written by the two psychologists in the unit who were responsible for this part of the work (Gahagan & Gahagan, in press). What follows gives a brief glimpse of what they did. All quotes, unless otherwise noted, are from the Gahagans' manuscript.

The educational program was designed to explore the implications of Bernstein's theory for education. As the Gahagans point out, "Bernstein's theory explicitly states that differences in usages of language do not arise out of any deficiencies in the speaker's tacit understanding of the linguistic system but arise out of the cultural constraints which affect the speaker's communicative intent. In Chomsky's sense the difference is at the level of performance, not competence" (emphasis in the original).

It was also designed to extend over three years - two in the infant school and one in the junior school; to require only twenty minutes per day and no more than £300 ($720) in materials for three classrooms over the three years; and to be feasible for ordinary teachers with no special qualifications, 40 children per class, and no aides. It was carried out in the East London borough of Newham, a working-class area with a disappointing record of educational attainments despite the outstanding effort of its Local Education Authority.

The 20-minute language "training" consisted of a variety of activities to improve three aspects of the children's verbal functioning:

(1) attention and auditory discrimination-for example, by O'Grady (Simon Says, in the U.S.) or recognizing voices while wearing masks which shut out visual distractions;

(2) explicit language use - for example, by communication tasks in which two children sit on opposite sides of a screen. "Each child is given an identical set of materials which can be assembled. One child assembles his materials first. When he has completed his task, he has to verbally instruct his partner to produce an identical assembly. He is not allowed to show him. The other child can ask questions but must not look at his partner's assembly. When it is finished the two must compare to see whether the instructions have produced similar arrays." Or by dramas for which the teacher presents a situation and the children invent story and dialogue. Use of situations which deliberately involve role incongruity - e.g. "Children are skipping in a road and an old lady takes the rope and joins in" - prevents "the children using the ready made cliches and phrases which they already associate with particular roles and which are, in any case, a formidable part of a restricted code."

(3) language structure and vocabulary - such as starting with a sentence like Michael is going to the circus and adapting it in time (Last week. . .) or conditions (If Michael had some money..). Or a game requiring the use of and, and not, or etc. adapted from Bereiter-Engelmann.

During this 20-minute period, the class of 40 was divided into stable work groups of five children each, and the teacher circulated among them. Initially, each group was heterogenous in overall language ability. Later, in each class one group of non-talkers was formed, for two reasons. "In the first case the children in them would become more salient for the teachers. . . .Secondly some of the children in these special groups would be forced to take up more assertive roles than they had been able to take up previously." In addition to this more formal language training, the Gahagans also helped the teachers to use ordinary situations throughout the school day for more explicit language use.

According to the research design, progress of the children in the three experimental schools (E1) was to be compared with children in two sets of

control schools: C1 which were left entirely alone, and C2 which received any Hawthorne effect on teacher motivation without a specific language component. Bernstein himself met with the three C2 teachers for a seminar on many non-language aspects of infant school teaching.

Problems of conducting research under the constraints operating here were great, and the Gahagans discuss them in simple and straight-forward terms: uncontrolled variation among children and teachers, loss of sample children during the three-year period; and the selection and interpretation of appropriate measures. In the end, three different kinds of measures were used.

One was a set of nine tasks, designed especially for this research, which were related to the content of the language program but only indirectly related to regular classroom work. Of these nine, E1 children were superior to C1 and C2 children "in their ability to generate sentences which in turn had an effect on performance in a simple learning task" (see fuller report in Gahagan & Gahagan, 1968); a small sample of E2 children were better able "both to make and code finer discriminations among objects presented visually or tactually" (see Robinson & Creed, 1968, for fuller report on visual discrimination task); there were no significant overall effects of the language program in the other six tasks.

Results on four of these tasks are of interest. First, on all tasks but two, children initially high on the English Picture Vocabulary Test (EPVT) were superior to children initially low. The two exceptions were creativity tests adapted from Wallach & Kogan (1965), thus replicating with younger children their finding "that verbal creativity is independent of verbal intelligence." Second, two tasks assessed the effects of training intended to sharpen "the

children's perceptions of emotions and interpersonal relations and [extend] their vocabulary for this area of experience." The children were asked to describe stick figures, singly or in pairs. A High score was assigned to responses "which attributed emotion, motivation, volition or mood", while a Low score was assigned to "any atomistic or fragmentary response describing parts of the figure separately." Contrary to expectations, the E2 children did not give more High responses. On the contrary,

> a small number of E1 children, mainly boys, seemed to have given precise, maticulous descriptions of the stick figures at the expense of wholistic, relational responses. For example, they specified the exact location of each arm and each leg in relation to the body, whether the heel was turned to the left or right, and whether a foot seemed to be raised off the ground.

While this result was disappointing to the Gahagans, it fits exactly with findings in the U. S. on social class differences in coding styles (Heider Cazden & Brown, 1968). At least in this task, the Gahagan-Bernstein language program succeeded in making the children use language in more "middle-class" ways.

The second kind of evaluation, perhaps the most closely related to Bernstein's theory, depends on the children's answers to six questions on how mothers control children's behavior.

> Before the children went to school for the first time a tape-recorded interview took place with the mothers. During this interview the mothers were asked six hypothetical questions about how would they control their child. Two and a half years later when the children were commencing their first term in the junior school the six questions in a slightly modified form were given to the children. . . This provided us with a unique opportunity to examine whether the programme had in any way affected the children's perception of the control of others.

Jenny Cook analysed the answers into five control styles of which three were used in this evaluation. There were no differences between E1 and C1 children

in frequency of "Punishing" responses (Mommy will whack him), or "Firmness" responses (Mommy would tell him to be careful and watch what he was doing), but the E1 children offered significantly more of the Mediating responses Mum will say, "If you watch the program tonight, you can't see it tomorrow"). "This style is linguistically more elaborated; it involves some manipulation of the authority relationship away from a coercive relation and it indicates that the child has access to a range of alternatives in the context of control" (Gahagan & Gahagan, in press: Appendix 2 by Brandis, Cook & Goldberg). These results are all the more interesting when we note that the language of control was not a specific emphasis of the educational program.

The third and last kind of evaluation (Gahagan & Gahagan, in press:Appendix 3 by W. Brandis), the most closely related to regular classroom work, used the English Progress Test (EPT), a written test of language use, recently standardized on nearly 5000 children. All project children in 8 of the 9 schools (excluding one C1 school) were tested at the end of the third year. Whereas the proportion of low EPT scores in C schools was higher than in the general population (27 out of 83), the proportion of low EPT scores in the E1 schools was significantly lower (only 3 out of 50). This pattern does not reflect low WISC scores. In fact, the Hawthorne effect in the C2 schools seems to have reduced the incidence of low WISC scores, while only the special language program in the E1 schools reduced the incidence of low EPT scores. This effect held for the special subsample of 11 West Indian children, even though the language program was not specifically planned for their needs. In summary, Bernstein comments, "My impression overall was that the programme was especially helpful to children who potentially were candidates for low ability/ attainment categories" (personal communication, 1969).

With such an imaginative program and such initially promising results even under difficult conditions, the Gahagan-Bernstein program provides an important base for further curriculum work. Because it also was designed to fit and supplement "prevailing infant school practice," it shows what can be done in a uniquely English way to enhance the development and use of language in school. I was all the more disappointed, therefore, to find that the compensatory education programs now starting in England were operating largely independently of this work, and depending instead on less interesting curriculum ideas imported from the U. S.

"Compensatory" Education

In its recommendations for the improvement of primary schools for children up to age 11, the Plowden report (Central Advisory Council, 1967) gives first priority to the establishment of educational priority areas (EPA's) (p. 441). On the basis of such criteria as occupation of parents, size of families, and number of children who get free school meals or whose families receive "supplementary benefits" (welfare assistance in the U. S.), particular schools or groups of schools would qualify for preferential treatment (pp. 57-59). Such pcsitive discrimination to close the "gap between the educational opportunities of the most and least fortunate children" (p. 65) should consist of the following steps:

> Reduction of class size to 30.
>
> Teacher aides for every two infant and junior classes.
>
> Replacement of improvement of old and out-of-date buildings.
>
> Provision of extra books and equipment.
>
> Expansion of nursery education so that all children aged four to five who live in EPA areas should have the opportunity of part-time attendance and that perhaps 50 per cent should have full-time places (p. 63).

The Plowden Report's discussion of the educational needs of deprived areas begins with a blunt statement that "what these deprived areas need most are perfectly normal, good primary schools alive with experience from which children of all kinds can benefit" (p. 51). The above measures are planned to redistribute educational resources to get such schools as fast as possible for the children who need them most.

Plowden also recommends that "Research should be started to discover which of the developments in educational priority areas have the most constructive

effects, so as to assist in planning the longer term programme to follow" (p.67). I cannot judge how much the English government has begun to carry out the general recommendations for EPA areas, but I did learn about three research projects which have been started by nongovernmental organizations. The Nuffield Foundation Resources for Learning Project, in which Mrs. E. Bay Tidy, a primary adviser, is trying to help schools compensate for large classes and inadequately trained teachers by the use of educational TV and audio-visual aids. The other two large-scale research programs are more directly related to the language of young children: the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) project directed by sociologist A. H. Halsey of the Department of Social and Administrative Studies at Oxford University, and the Schools Council project in Compensatory Education directed by Maurice Chazan and Phillip Williams of the Department of Education, University College of Swansea, Wales.

The largest EPA research project is Halsey's. It is a three-year project: six months for planning, two years for action research, and six months for evaluation. It is based in five areas: the Deptford area of London, Birmingham, Liverpool, the West Riding of Yorkshire and Dundee, Scotland. The project staff in each area has considerable local autonomy, in true English style, nationally planned and evaluated-a preschool language program, directed But one part of the project will be /\ by Allen Brimer, head of the Research Unit of University of Bristol Institute of Education.

I met with members of Brimer's group when they were planning the language program. Because they were faced in the spring of 1969 with planning for a program to begin that fall, consideration was limited to curriculum ideas already available in a form which could be given to teachers in five widely separated areas. Of such materials, the group seemed inclined to the Peabody

Language Development Kit. It would have to be adapted for English children: items which don't exist in England, like corn-on-the-cob, eliminated; some labels substituted, like biscuits for cookies; and some grammatical forms substituted, like have you got for do you have. The Kit consists of a set of a set of language lessons, with all necessary materials provided, more compatible with the philosophy of English nursery school teachers than the Bereiter-Engelmann program which the group rejected for that reason. All in all, it seemed like the kind of program which would give support to weak teachers without being too restrictive for more imaginative ones.

For the same reasons, the Peabody Language Development Kit is also being used in an experimental project conducted by H. L. Williams at the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER - the organization most comparable to Educational Testing Service in the U. S.). Williams is working with five nursery schools in Slough, a town near Windsor Castle which used to be a place on the London-Bath road where the horses were changed and is now partly an industrial park. Slough is proud of its tradition of nursery education and has been able to maintain a generous provision of nursery places - at least by comparison with many other local education authorities in England.

The head of one of the five nursery schools, Miss Hudson of the Cippenham School, agreed to try out the Peabody Kit and has been using it as the basis of daily 20-minute small-group language lessons during the 1968-1969 school year. Miss Hudson feels that the children have benefitted from the program, and initial test results support her impressions. But she is also changing the program as she goes along. Her children can go faster than the Kit manual recommends and she adds activities of her own design. Williams further plans

to substitute some of the mathematics work form the Infant Schools - ideas from the Nuffield Mathematics Program perhaps - for the arithmetic lessons included in the Kit.

One incident on the playground deserves a parenthetical note. As Miss Hudson was drawing the shapes, the children enjoyed calling out the names before she had finished. In the case of the triangle, they called out - correctly - when she had finished only one line, even though it could have been the beginning of a square or rectangle as well. That one line was diagonal to the seams in the playground cement, and diagonal to the school building wall. Evidently, in those children's concept of a triangle, diagonality was a more important marker than three-sideness.

In Slough, another of the five nursery school directors, Mrs. Tait of Baylis Court Nursery School, was giving a selected group of twelve of her younger disadvantaged children a well - organized sequence of language lessons based on concrete experiences such as shopping expeditions and trips to the zoo. The NFER has been helping her with clerical chores and evaluation.

In the Deptford part of the SSRC Project under the direction of Charles Betty, there may also be a second experimental preschool language program for comparison with the Peabody Kit. It is being designed by Mrs. Maureen Shields, a graduate student in Linguistics at University College, London and a member of the teacher training faculty at Goldsmith's College in Deptford. After I returned from England, she wrote:

> We are working on the principle that the improvement of the language and intellectual skills of preschool children should primarily be based on the improvement of the teacher through a programme of support and inservice training designed to sensitise her to the importance and developmental features of language. We hope thereby

> to enable her to exploit to the full the linguistic and conceptual learning opportunities provided by the child's own environment and activities both inside and outside the nursery group (personal communication, 1969).

If it is actually tried out and evaluated, Mrs. Shield's program should provide important information on the effectiveness of language extension at its best.[6]

The Schools Council project has three aims:

> to provide screening techniques to enable children in need of compensatory education to be identified at an early age;
>
> to make longitudinal studies of Infant School children in deprived areas, with particular reference to their emotional development and response to schooling; and
>
> to develop teaching programmes, involving materials in a variety of media, which may be used to help culturally deprived children at the infant school stage (Schools Council, 1968, p. 5 or Schools Council, undated, p. 3).

It will extend for three and a half years from the beginning in November, 1967 and will be conducted in several areas in England and Wales. It is a project of longer duration than Halsey's, and more of the time will be used in defining further the dimensions of deprivation: which children (in an EPA area or out) and which aspects of their development need the most help. In spring, 1969, work on program development was just beginning. Because all children go to infant schools at 5 years, whereas only a small percentage of children go to nursery schools (about 7% in 1965, according to the Plowden Report), the emphasis in all three parts of the project is on the infant school age range.

Neil Ferguson has been working on selecting, and in some cases designing, tests of intellectual and linguistic development. At the time of my visit, he was planning to use the following language tests:

a "structure of language" test based on Berko's (1958) "wug" test;

an auditory discrimination test, easier than the Wepman for 5 year-olds, in which the children are asked to repeat pairs of words such as school-school or bud-but;

the English Picture Vocabulary Test, an adaptation of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test by Allen Brimer of Bristol and Lloyd Dunn of Peabody;

a short-term memory test of ability to repeat sentences.

Ferguson has also developed a "Symbols Test" which probably taps reading readiness but has language implications as well. First, the child is taught a set of visual symbols similar to pictographs used by some American Indian cultures. For instance:

the

runs

down

Then the child is asked to "read" a string of such symbols:

The boy runs down.

One of the test questions turned out to be ambiguous, but in a very interesting way. When asked "Where do these pictures say water runs?" some children say down hill (the expected answer) and some children point to the symbols themselves. It is Ferguson's initial impression that the children who point to the symbols in response to where have lower over-all scores.

In England as in the U. S. it is not always clear what "compensatory education" is supposed to be compensating for. The Plowden report does not use the term as far as I can tell, but it does say that "The schools must supply a compensating environment" (Central Advisory Council, p. 57). This suggests deprivations and "gaps" to be filled (Schools Council, undated, p. 9) in the

children. But such a point of view seems at odds with other statements in Plowden that "What these deprived areas need most are perfectly normal, good primary schools. . ." (p. 51), which imply that the deficiencies are in schools, not in children.

The two members of the Plowden commission whom I spoke to - Miss Grey in Wales and Miss Parry in Bristol - both seemed to take the latter view. But unlike some of their American colleagues in early childhood education, neither Miss Grey nor Miss Parry seem threatened by the special compensatory programs being developed by sociologists, educational psychologists and other college professors. Miss Grey expressed the hope that these research projects would increase our understanding of all children. Miss Parry seemed to anticipate with some relish future competition between the best practices of the infant schools as she will document them and any program devised by the new research projects. She is confident that the best infant schools can match or surpass all competitors in benefits to children. Should it turn out that certain children need a special curriculum, she seems quite prepared to accept those results. If only reactions were as calm and minds as open to evidence in the U. S.

Footnotes

1. The trip on which these observations were made was supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation for a survey and analysis of preschool language programs in the United States. An earlier draft of this report was sent to all the people I visited in England and Wales, with a request for suggestions and criticisms. This version incorporates all comments received through December, 1969. I am thus doubly grateful for their help.

2. The Plowden Report is the official English blueprint for primary education: Nursery, infant and junior schools through age 11. Cited in the reference list as Central Advisory Council for Education (1967), the two-volume study was the work of a committee of her Majesty's government headed by Lady Plowden.

3. For comparative discussions of language education for older children in the U. S. and Great Britain, see Dixon (1967) for the report of an Englishman on the bi-national (1967) Dartmouth Seminar; and see Squire & Applebee (1969) for the report of observations by Americans in Secondary School.

4. See Cazden in press, for a discussion of objectives in early childhood language education both in England and the U. S.

5. For discussion of bilingualism in Ireland, see Macnamara (1966).

6. By January 1970, Joan Heppenstall had assumed responsibility as the National Research Officer for Halsey's EPA project, in charge of the nationally coordinated part of the preschool work. Liverpool, Birmingham and part of West Riding were using the Peabody Kit; some schools in West Riding were using an individual tutorial program based on Marion Blank's (Blank & Solomon, 1969) work. Dundee had developed its own language program consisting of a sequence of concepts taught in structured small-group sessions and extended during the rest of the school day. These four areas had agreed to a joint evaluation using the English Peabody Test and the Reynell Developmental Language Scales (Reynell, 1969). The London part of Halsey's project was working separately with a language program for older children.

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